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John J. Audubon

from the painting in the possession of Chas. Lanman in the possession of the publishers

Johnson Fry & Co. Publishers New York

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Dan.l Morgan

their favorite rustic seat there beneath an oak, and there, each promised the other he would bury the survivor. The time soon came, a month after the scene at the Raleigh Tavern we have just narrated, when Carr, at the age of thirty, was fatally stricken by fever. The friends now rest together in the spot where their youthful summer days were passed. Carr had been eight years married to Jefferson's sister, and he left her with a family of six children. His brother-in-law took them all to his home. The sons, Peter and Dabney, who rose high in the Virginia judiciary, have an honored place in the Jefferson Correspondence, calling forth many of the statesmen's best letters. The whole family was educated and provided for by him; and here again, in these adopted children, we may recognize a resemblance to Mount Vernon with its young Custises.

The new Legislature met, as usual, the next year, and, roused by the passage of the Boston Port Bill, a few members, says Jefferson, including Henry and himself, resolved to place the Assembly "in the line with Massachusetts." The expedient they hit upon was a fast day, which, by the help of some old Puritan precedents, they "cooked up" and placed in the hands of a grave member to lay before the House. It was passed, and the Governor, "as usual," dissolved the Assembly. The fast was appointed for the first of June, the day on which the obnoxious bill was to take effect, and there was one man in Virginia, at least, who kept it. We may read in the Diary of George Washington, of that date, "Went to church, and fasted all day."[1]

The dissolved Assembly again met at the Raleigh, and decided upon a Convention, to be elected by the people of the several counties, and held at Williamsburg, so that two bodies had to be chosen, one to assemble in the new House of Burgesses, the other out of the reach of government control. The same members, those of the previous House, were sent for both. Jefferson again represented the freeholders of Albemarle. The instructions which the county gave, supposed from his pen, assert the radical doctrine of the independence of the Colonial Legislatures, as the sole fount of authority in new laws. The Williamsburg Convention met and appointed delegates to the first General Congress. Jefferson was detained from the Assembly by illness, but he forwarded a draught of instructions for the delegates, which was not adopted, but ordered to be printed by the members. It bore the title, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," reached England, was taken up by the opposition, and, with some interpolations from Burke, passed through several editions.[2] Though in

[1] Mrs. Kirkland's Memoirs of Washington, p. 220.

[2] The pamphlet took the ground, that the relation between Great Britain and her Colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland after the accession of James, and until the Union, or as Hanover then stood, linked only by the crown. An illustration was also drawn from the Saxon settlement of Britain, "that mother country" never having asserted any claim of authority over her emigrants. The trading and manufacturing repressions of England in particular were dwelt upon, with other pertinent topics of reform. The whole was expressed in terse and pointed language. He would remind George III. that "Kings are the servants, not the propri-

advance of the judgment of the people, who are slow in coming up to the principles of great reforms, this "View" undoubtedly assisted to form that judgment. But so slow was the progress of opinion at the outset, that, at the moment when this paper was written, only a few leaders, such as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, were capable of appreciating it. A few years afterwards, and it would have been accepted as a truism. The country was not yet ready to receive its virtual Declaration of Independence. The people had to be pricked on by further outrages. Theoretical rebellion they had no eye for; they must feel to be convinced. Jefferson's paper was in advance of them, by the boldness of its historical positions, and the plainness of its language to His Majesty—yet its array of grievances must have enlightened many minds.

The Congress of 1774 met but adopted milder forms of petition, better adapted to the moderation of their sentiments. Meanwhile committees of safety are organizing in Virginia, and Jefferson heads the list in his county. He is also in the second Virginia Convention at Richmond, listening to Patrick Henry's ardent appeal to the God of Battles—"I repeat it, sir, we must fight!" The Assembly adopted the view so far as preparing means of defence, and that the students of events in Massachusetts began to think meant war. The delegates to the first Congress were elected to the second, and in case Peyton Randolph should be called to preside over the House of Burgesses, Thomas Jefferson was to be his successor at Philadelphia. The House met, Randolph was elected, and Jefferson departed to fill his place, bearing with him to Congress the spirited Resolutions of the Assembly, which he had written and driven through, in reply to the conciliatory propositions of Lord North. It was a characteristic introduction, immediately followed up by his appointment on the committee charged to prepare a declaration of the causes of taking up arms, Congress having just chosen Washington Commander-in-Chief of a national army. He was associated in this task with John Dickinson, to whose timidity and caution, respected as they were by his fellow members, he deferred in the report, in which, however, a few ringing sentences of Jefferson are readily distinguishable, among them the famous watchwords of political struggle—"Our cause is just; our union is perfect." "With hearts," the document proceeds, "fortified with these animating affections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms which we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves."

This was the era of masterly state papers; and talent in composition was

etors of the people." "The whole art of government," he maintains, "consists in the art of being honest."

in demand. The reputation of Jefferson in this line had preceded him, in the ability of his "Summary View," presented to the Virginia Convention, and was confirmed by his presence. Nearly a year passed—a year commencing with Lexington and Bunker Hill, and including the military scenes of Washington's command around Boston, before Congress was fully ready to pronounce its final Declaration of Independence. When the time came, Jefferson was again a member of that body. The famous Resolutions of Independence, in accordance with previous instructions from Virginia, were moved by Richard Henry Lee, on the seventh of June. They were debated in committee of the whole, and pending the deliberations, not to lose time, a special committee was appointed by ballot on the eleventh, to prepare a Declaration of Independence. Jefferson had the highest vote, and stood at the head of the committee, with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. The preparation of the instrument was entrusted to Jefferson. "The committee desired me to do it, it was accordingly done," says his Autobiography. The draft thus prepared, with a few verbal corrections from Franklin and Adams, was submitted to the House on the twenty-eighth. On the second of July, it was taken up in debate, and earnestly battled for three days, when on the evening of the last—the ever-memorable fourth of July—it was finally reported, agreed to, and signed by every member except Mr. Dickinson. Some alterations were made in the original draft—a phrase, here and there, which seemed superfluous, was lopped off; the King of Great Britain was spared some additional severities, and a stirring passage arraigning his Majesty for his complicity in the slave trade then carried on, a "piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers," was entirely exscinded—the denunciation being thought to strike at home as well as abroad. The people of England were also relieved of the censure cast upon them for electing tyrannical Parliaments. With these omissions, the paper stands substantially as first reported by Jefferson. It is intimately related to his previous resolutions and reports in Virginia and Congress, and whatever merit may be attached to it, alike in its spirit and language, belongs to him.

Mr. Jefferson was elected to the next session of Congress; but, pleading the state of his family affairs, and desirous of taking part in the formative measures of government now arising in Virginia, he was permitted to resign. He declined, also, immediately after, an appointment by Congress as fellow-minister to France with Dr. Franklin. In October, he took his seat in the Virginia House of Delegates, and commenced those efforts of reform with which his name will always be identified in his native State, and which did not end till its social condition was thoroughly revolutionized. His first great blow was the introduction of a bill abolishing entails, which, with one subsequently brought in, cutting off the right of primogeniture, levelled the great landed aristocracy which had

hitherto governed in the country. He was also, about the time of the passage of this act, created one of the committee for the general revision of the laws, his active associates being Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe. This vast work was not completed by the committee till June, 1779, an interval of more than two years. Among the one hundred and sixteen new bills reported, perhaps the most important was one, the work of Jefferson, that for Establishing Religious Freedom, which abolished tythes, and left all men free "to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." A concurrent act provided for the preservation of the glebe lands to church members. Jefferson was not, therefore, in this instance the originator of the after spoliation of the ecclesiastical property. Of this matter Mr. Randall says: "Whether Mr. Jefferson changed his mind, and kept up with the demands of popular feeling in that particular, we have no means of knowing. We remember no utterance of his on that subject, after reporting the bills we have described."[1] Another important subject fell to his charge in the statutes affecting education. He proposed a system of free common school education, planned in the minutest details; a method of reorganization for William and Mary College, and provision for a free State Library. There was also a bill limiting the death penalty to murder and treason. In his account of the reception of this "Revision," Mr. Jefferson records: "Some bills were taken out, occasionally, from time to time, and passed; but the main body of the work was not entered on by the Legislature until after the general peace, in 1785, when, by the unwearied exertions of Mr. Madison, in opposition to the endless quibbles, chicaneries, perversions, vexations, and delays of lawyers and demi-lawyers, most of the bills were passed by the Legislature, with little alteration."

In 1779, Mr. Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia, falling upon a period of administration requiring the military defence of the State, less suited to his talents than the reforming legislation in which he had been recently engaged. Indeed, he modestly confesses this in the few words he devotes to the subject in his Autobiography, where he says, referring to history for this portion of his career: "From a belief that, under the pressure of the invasion under which we were then laboring, the public would have more confidence in a military chief, and that the military commander, being invested with the civil power also, both might be wielded with more energy, promptitude and effect for the defence of the State, I resigned the administration at the end of my second year, and General Nelson was appointed to succeed me." His disposition to the arts of peace, in mitigation of the calamities of war, had been previously shown in his treatment of the Saratoga prisoners of war, who were quartered in his neighborhood, near Charlottesville. He added to the comforts of the men,

[1] Life of Jefferson, I. 222.

and entertained the officers at his table, and when it was proposed to remove them to less advantageous quarters, he remonstrated with Governor Henry in their favor. The early part of Jefferson's administration was occupied with various duties connected with the war, and it was only at the end, in the invasions by Arnold and Phillips, in 1780, that he felt its pressure. When Richmond was invaded and plundered, he was obliged to reconnoitre the attack, in his movements about the vicinity, without ability of resistance. The finances and resources of defence of the State were in the most lamentable condition, and it remains a question for the historian to conjecture what degree of military energy, in a Governor, would have been effectual to create an army on the spur of the moment, and extort means for its support. The depredations of Arnold continued till the arrival of Cornwallis, and before his exit from the scene of these operations at Yorktown, an incident occurred which has been sometimes told to Jefferson's disadvantage, though without any apparent reason. The famous Colonel Tarleton, celebrated for the rapidity of his movements, was dispatched to secure the members of the Legislature, then assembled at Charlottesville. Warning was given, and the honorable gentlemen escaped, when it was proposed to capture the Governor at his neighboring residence at Monticello. He however, also had intelligence, perceiving the approach of the enemy from his mountain height, and sending his wife and children in advance to a place of safety, rode off himself as the troopers approached to Carter's Mountain. At this time his term of service as Governor had expired a few days. Happily, the officer who thus visited his house was a gentleman, and his papers, books, and other property, were spared. His estate at Elk Hill, on James River, did not fare so well. Its crops were destroyed, its stock taken, and the slaves driven off to perish, almost to a man, of fever and suffering in the British camp.

Losses like these he could bear with equanimity; not so the inquiry which received some countenance from the legislature into his conduct during the invasion. He was grieved that such an implied censure should be even thought of, and prepared himself to meet it in person; but when he presented himself at the next session, consenting to an election for the express purpose, there was no one to oppose him, and resolutions of respect and confidence took the place of the threatened attack. He had another cause of despondence at this time, which no act of the legislature could cure. His wife, to whom he was always tenderly attached, was daily growing more feeble in health, and gradually approaching her grave. She died in September, 1782—"torn from him by death," is the expressive language he placed on her simple monument.

The illness of his wife had prevented his acceptance of an appointment in Europe, to negotiate terms of peace immediately after the termination of his duties as governor. A similar office was now tendered him—the third proffer of the kind by Congress—and, look-

ing upon it as a relief to his distracted mind as well as a duty to the State, he accepted it. Before, however, the preparations for his departure were complete, arising from the difficulties then existing of crossing the ocean, intelligence was received of the progress of the peace negotiations, and the voyage was abandoned.

He was then returned to Congress, taking his seat in November, 1783, at Trenton, the day of the adjournment to Annapolis, where one of his first duties, the following month, was as chairman of the Committee which provided the arrangements for the reception of Washington on his resignation of his command. The ceremony took place in public, "the representatives of the sovereignty of the Union" remaining seated and covered while the company in the gallery were standing and uncovered. After Washington's address and delivery of his commission, the President replied in an answer attributed to Jefferson.[1] Eulogy of Washington always fell happily from his pen. "Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world," was one of its sentences; "having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens: but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages." Jefferson was accustomed to speak of Washington with eloquence and admiration, suffering no political disagreements to diminish his historic greatness. Probably the best character ever drawn of the Father of his Country, was written by him, in a letter from Monticello, addressed to Dr. Walter Jones, in 1814.

The presence of Jefferson in any legislative body was always soon felt, and we accordingly find him in the Congress of 1784, making his mark in the debates on the ratification of the treaty of peace, his suggestions on the establishment of a money unit and a national coinage, which were subsequently adopted—he gave us the decimal system and the denomination of the cent; the cession of the Northwestern Territory by Virginia, with his report for its government, proposing names for its new States, and the exclusion of slavery after the year 1800: and taking an active part in the arrangements for commercial treaties with foreign nations. In the last, he was destined to be an actor as well as designer—Congress, on the seventh of May, appointing him to act in Europe with Adams and Franklin, in accomplishing these negotiations. This time he was enabled to enter upon the scene abroad, which had always invited his imagination by its prospects of new observations in art and science, society and government, and intimacy with learned and distinguished men. A visit to Europe to an ordinary American in those days, was like passing from a school to a university; but Jefferson, though he found the means of knowledge unfailing wherever he went, being no ordinary man but a very extraordinary one, carried with him to Europe

[1] Randall's Life of Jefferson, I. 392.

more than he could receive there. In the science of government he was the instructor of the most learned; and, in that matter, the relations of the old world and the new were reversed. America, even then, with much to learn before her system was perfected, was the educator of Europe.

Jefferson took with him his oldest daughter, Martha—his family consisting, since the death of his wife, of three young daughters and the adopted children of his friend, Carr—with whom he reached Paris, by the way of England, in August. There he found Dr. Franklin, with whom he entered on the duties of his mission, and whose friendship he experienced in an introduction to the brilliant philosophical society of the capital. His position, also, at the outset, was much strengthened with these savans by a small edition which he printed and privately circulated of his "Notes on Virginia." This work had for some time existed in manuscript, having been written in Virginia, in 1781, during a period of confinement, when he was disabled from active exertion in consequence of a fall from his horse, in reply to certain queries which had been addressed to him by the French minister, M. Marbois, who had been instructed by his government to procure various statistical information in regard to the country. As it had always been a custom of Jefferson to note everything that came to his knowledge relating to topics of national welfare, it was an easy task to supply the required answers from his note-books. In this way, the "Notes" were written and communicated to the minister; and, as these queries were of constant recurrence, relating, as they did, to a new state of things which provoked inquiry, the author kept a copy of the replies for his own use and for that of his friends. He would have printed the little work in America, but was deterred by the expense. Finding this could be done at a fourth of the cost in Paris, he now carried the intention out. The volume was carefully distributed—the writer thinking its opinions on the subject of slavery and of the American Constitution might irritate the minds of his countrymen—but a year or two later, a copy, on the death of its owner, got into the hands of a bookseller, who caused it to be hastily translated by the Abbé Morellet, into French, and in this state sent it to Jefferson on the eve of publication. He could correct only its worst blunders, and the work being now before the world, he thought it but an act of justice to himself to yield to the request of a London publisher, to issue the original. This is the history of the famous "Notes on Virginia." The book itself, as a valuable original contribution to the knowledge of an interesting portion of the country, at a transition period, has been always treasured. Its observations on natural history, and descriptions of scenery, are of value; it has much which would now be called ethnological, particularly in reference to the Indian and the black man; while, in style and treatment, it may be studied as a suggestive index of the mind and tastes of the author.

In the summer of 1785, Dr. Franklin took his departure homeward, retir-

ing from the embassy he had so long and honorably filled, and Jefferson remained as his successor. He was four years in this position, covering the important opening era of the Revolution, including the assembly of the States General, of all the movements connected with which he was a diligent observer and friendly sympathizer with the reformers. His official duties embraced various regulations of trade and commerce, the admission of American products into France on favorable terms; a fruitless attempt with Adams at negotiations with England, which left an unfavorable impression of the mother country on his mind, and the consideration of the Barbary question, for which he proposed, as a remedy to the constant aggressions, active naval coercion. His private correspondence, during this residence abroad, is of the most interesting character. It is not merely well written, with the accuracy of a mind accustomed to reflection, but its topics have, for the most part, an historic value. It is in turn political, scientific, philosophical, or moral, as it is addressed to Washington, Jay, Madison, with whom he keeps up his ideas on American state developments; John Adams; the astronomer Rittenhouse; the ingenious Francis Hopkinson; his nephew, Peter Carr; or his lady friends, Mrs. Cosway, and Mrs. Bingham. To Carr, he lays down a code of precepts, in which we may read the reflection of his own life. "Give up money, give up fame," he writes, "give up science, give up the earth itself and all it contains, rather than do an immoral act. . . An honest heart being the first blessing, a knowing head is the second. . . . A strong body makes the mind strong."

A tour which he performed in the provinces of France, and which was extended into northern Italy, was made as subservient to his friends as to his own interest. It was his humor on this journey to study the ways and habits of the common people, and he took as great delight in rambling through the fields with the peasantry and inspecting their cottages, as in visiting palaces and churches. He advised Lafayette to travel in his path, "and to do it effectually," he wrote, "you must be absolutely *incognito;* you must ferret the people out of their hovels, as I have done, look into their kettles, eat their bread, loll on their beds, under pretence of resting yourself, but in fact to find if they are soft. You will feel a sublime pleasure in the course of this investigation, and a sublimer one hereafter, when you shall be able to apply your knowledge to the softening of their beds, or the throwing a morsel of meat into their kettle of vegetables."

The return of Jefferson to the United States in the autumn of 1789, grew out of his desire to restore his daughters—a second one had joined him in Europe, the third died during his absence—to education in America, and to look after his private affairs. A leave of absence was accordingly granted him, with the expectation of a return to the French capital. Before reaching home, he found a letter from President Washington awaiting him, tendering him the office of Secretary of State in the new govern-

ment. The proposition was received with manifest reluctance, but with a candid reference to the will of the President. The latter smoothed the way, by representing the duties of the office as less laborious than had been conceived, and it was accepted. At the end of March, 1790, he joined the other members of the administration at New York. Then began that separation in politics, which, gradually rising to the dignity of party organization, became known as Federalism and Republicanism. At the present day, it is difficult to appreciate the state of Jefferson's mind towards Hamilton and other members of the administration; his distrust of their movements, and apparently fixed belief that some monarchical designs were entertained by them. If there were any offenders in this way, they were Hamilton and Jay; but it is difficult to credit that either of them entertained any serious intentions of the kind, however naturally they might distrust theories of self-government. In fact, there were "fears of the brave," if not "follies of the wise," on both sides. Each party had much to learn, which experience in the practical working of the government only could teach. It was easy then to exaggerate trifles, as it is unprofitable now, in the face of broad results, to revive them. There was a practical question also before Congress, which seems to have affected the equanimity of Jefferson, that namely of the assumption of the State debts. Hamilton was the advocate of this measure, which met with serious opposition. Jefferson was inclined to oppose it, as an addition to the financial power of the Secretary of the Treasury; which rose in his eyes as an evil of still greater magnitude when Hamilton's proposition came up of a national bank. This institution, in his distrust of paper money, he considered a fountain of demoralization. To these causes of separation in opinion was in no long time added the pregnant controversy of the good or evil, the wisdom or folly of the French Revolution, drawing with it a train of conduct at home, when the neutrality question became the subject of practical discussion. Jefferson is thought to have lent some support to the annoyances of the time under which Washington suffered, in his patronage of the poet Freneau, who irritated the President by sending him his newspaper filled with attacks on the supposed monarchical tendencies of the day. When the insolence, however, of Genet and his advocates reached its height, the case was so clear that Jefferson employed himself in his office in the State Department in the most vigorous protests and denunciation. Whatever opinions he might entertain of men or measures, on a question of practical conduct, he regarded only the honor and welfare of his country. He retired at the end of 1793, with the friendship and respect of Washington unbroken. The public questions which arose during his secretaryship, which we have alluded to, though the noisiest on the page of history are, perhaps not the most significant of Jefferson's career. His services, in many laborious matters of investigation and negotiation, were constant; with England, in regard to

conditions of the treaty of peace; with Spain, in reference to her claims at the South, and the navigation of the Mississippi—a question which he was so happily to bring to a termination in his Presidential administration; at home, in his efforts for trade and commerce, exhibited in his various industrial reports.

The simplicity of his retirement at Monticello has been questioned by those who have been accustomed to look upon the man too exclusively in the light of a politician; but the evidence brought forward by his latest biographer, Mr. Randall, shows that the passion, while it lasted, was genuine. Jefferson, with all his coolness and external command, had a peculiar sensitiveness. In fact, it is only a superficial view of his character which could overlook this element lying beneath. A speculative moralist must feel as well as think, and the world can no more get such reflections on life and conduct —whatever we may think of their absolute value—as are thickly sown in his writings, without inner emotion, than fruit can be gathered without the delicate organization of the plant which bears it. Such grapes are not plucked from thorns. In Jefferson's heart there was a fund of sensibility, freely exhibited in his private intercourse with his family. He was unwearied in the cares and solicitudes of his daughters, his adopted children, and their alliances. In reading the letters which passed between them, the politician is forgotten: we see only the man and the father. Besides these pleasing anxieties, he had the responsibilities and resources of several considerable plantations; his five thousand acres about Monticello alone, as he managed them with their novel improvements and home manufacturing operations, affording occupation enough for a single mind. He had, too, his books and favorite studies in science and literature. There were, probably, few public men in the country who like him read the Greek dramatists in the original with pleasure. What wonder, then, that he honestly sought retirement from the labors and struggles of political life, becoming every day more embittered by the rising spirit of party? That the retirement was really such, we have the best proof in an incidental remark in one of his letters written in 1802—the recluse was at the time in the Presidency—to his daughter Maria, then married to Mr. Eppes. Fancying he saw in her a reluctance to society, he rebukes the feeling, adding, "I can speak from experience on this subject. From 1793 to 1797, I remained closely at home, saw none but those who came there, and at length became very sensible of the ill effect it had upon my own mind, and of its direct and irresistible tendency to render me unfit for society and uneasy when necessarily engaged in it. I felt enough of the effect of withdrawing from the world then, to see that it led to an anti-social and misanthropic state of mind, which severely punishes him who gives into it; and it will be a lesson I shall never forget as to myself." But the law of Jefferson's mind was activity, and it was no long time before he mingled again in the political arena. His first decided

symptom of returning animation is found by his biographer in his subscription, at the close of 1795, to "Bache's Aurora." He was no longer content with "his solitary Richmond newspaper." After this, there is no more thorough "working politician" in the country than Thomas Jefferson.[1]

It is not necessary here to trace his influence on every passing event. We may proceed rapidly to his reappearance in public life as Vice-President in 1797, on the election of John Adams, soon followed by the storm of party, attendant upon the obnoxious measures of the President in the Alien and Sedition Laws, the rapid disintegration of the Federal party and the rise of the Republicans. Out of the stormy conflict, Jefferson, at the next election, was elevated to the Presidency. The vote stood seventy-three alike for himself and Burr, and sixty-five and sixty-four respectively for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney. As the Presidency was then given to the one who had the highest vote and the Vice-Presidency to the one next below him, neither being named for the offices, this equality threw the election into the House of Representatives. A close contest then ensued between Jefferson and Burr for the Presidency, which was protracted for six days and thirty-six ballotings, when the former was chosen by ten out of the sixteen votes of the States.

His Inaugural Address was an appeal for harmony. After a brief sketch in vivid language, of which no one had a better mastery, of the country, whose laws he was appointed to administer—"a rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye"—he proceeded to assuage the agitations of party. "Every difference of opinion," he said, "is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

One of the early measures of Jefferson's administration, and the most important of his eight years of office, was the acquisition of Louisiana by purchase from France. It was a work upon which he had peculiarly set his heart. From the first moment of hearing that the territory was passing from Spain to France, he dropped all political sympathy for the latter, and saw in her possession of the region only a pregnant source of war and hostility. Not content with the usual channel of diplomacy through the State department, he wrote himself at once to Mr.

[1] The close of his retirement was marked by an honor which he valued, his election as President of the American Philosophical Society. In his letter of acceptance, always mindful of his practical democracy, he wrote, "I feel no qualification for this distinguished post, but a sincere zeal for all the objects of our institution, and an ardent desire to see knowledge so disseminated through the mass of mankind, that it may at length reach the extremes of society, beggars and kings."

Livingston, the minister in France, urging considerations of national policy not so much that the United States should hold the country, as that the European powers should relinquish it. From his own previous discussions with Spain, he understood the topic well, and his zeal was now equal to the occasion. An active European nation of the first class in possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, was utterly inadmissible to his sagacious mind; he saw and felt the fact in all its consequences. The rapidity of his conclusions, his patriotic insight were happily seconded by the necessities of Napoleon at the time, and Louisiana became an integral part of the Republic, with the least expenditure of money and political negotiation. The turn of European events had much to do with it—but had the difficulty been prolonged, the prescience and energy of Jefferson would, there is every reason to believe, have been prepared to cope with the issue. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke, in exploration of the western territory, parallel witht his new acquisition, was planned by Jefferson, and must be placed to the credit, alike of his love of science and patriotic insight into the future of his country. The brilliant acts of the navy in the Mediterranean, in conflict with the Barbary powers, came also to swell the triumphs of the administration, and Jefferson, at the next Presidential election, was borne into office, spite of a vigorous opposition, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-two in the electoral college to fourteen given to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

The main events of this second administration were the trial of Burr for his alleged western conspiracy, in which the President took a deep interest in the prosecution, and the measures adopted against the naval aggressions of England, which culminated in the famous "Embargo," by which the foreign trade of the country was annihilated at a blow, that Great Britain might be reached in her commercial interests. The state of things was peculiar. America had been grievously wronged in her unsettled relations with England, and not only assailed, but insulted in the attack on the Chesapeake and seizure of her men. What was to be done? The question was not ripe for war. The Embargo was accepted as an alternative, but its immediate pressure at home was even greater than war. The disasters of the latter, in the injuries inflicted on our commerce would have been vast; but they would have been casual, and might have been escaped. Not so this self-denying ordinance of the Embargo, which prohibited American vessels from sailing from foreign ports, and all foreign vessels from taking out cargoes: it was a constant force, acting to the destruction of all commerce. It, moreover, directed the course of trade from our own shores to others, whence it might not easily be recalled. All this must have been seen by the Administration which resorted to the measure as a temporary expedient. It, of course, called down a storm of opposition from the remnants of Federalism in the commercial States, which ended in its repeal early in 1809, after it had been in

operation something more than a year. Immediately after, the Presidency of its author closed with his second term, leaving the country, indeed, in an agitated, unsettled state in reference to its foreign policy, but with many elements at home of enduring prosperity and grandeur. The territory of the nation had been enlarged, its resources developed, and its financial system conducted with economy and masterly ability; time had been gained for the inevitable coming struggle with England, and though the navy was not looked to as it should have been, it had more than given a pledge of its future prowess in its achievements in the Mediterranean.

He was now sixty-six, nearly the full allotment of human life, but he was destined to yet seventeen years of honorable exertion—an interval marked by his popular designation, "the sage of Monticello," in which asperities might die out, and a new generation learn to reverence him as a father of the State. He had been too much of a reformer not to suffer more than most men the obloquy of party, and he died without the true Thomas Jefferson being fully known to the public. In his last days he spoke of the calumny to which he had been subjected with mingled pride and charitable feeling. He had not considered, he said, in words worthy of remembrance, "his enemies as abusing him; they had never known *him*. They had created an imaginary being clothed with odious attributes, to whom they had given his name; and it was against that creature of their imaginations they had levelled their anathemas."[1] We may now penetrate within that home, even, in the intimacy of his domestic correspondence, within that breast, and learn something of the man Thomas Jefferson. His questioning turn of mind, and, to a certain extent, his unimaginative temperament, led him to certain views, particularly in matters of religion, which were thought at war with the welfare of society. But whatever the extent of his departure, in these things, from the majority of the Christian world, he does not appear, even in his own family, to have influenced the opinion of others. His views are described, by those who have studied them, to resemble those held by the Unitarians. He was not averse, however, on occasion, to the services of the Episcopal Church, which, says Mr. Randall, "he generally attended, and when he did so, always carried his prayer-book, and joined in the responses and prayers of the congregation." Of the Bible he was a great student, and, we fancy, derived much of his Saxon strength of expression from familiarity with its language.

If any subject was dearer to his heart than another, in his latter days, it was the course of education in the organization and government of his favorite University of Virginia. The topic had long been a favorite one, dating as far back with him as his report to the Legislature in 1779. It was revived in some efforts made in his county in 1814, which resulted in the establishment of a college that in 1818

[1] Letter from Colonel T. J. Randolph to Henry S. Randall. Randall's Life of Jefferson, III. 544.

gave place to the projected University. Its courses of instruction reflected his tastes, its government was of his contrivance, he looked abroad for its first professors, and its architectural plans, in which he took great interest, were mainly arranged by him. He was chosen by the Board of Visitors, appointed by the Governor, its Rector, and died holding the office. An inscription for his monument, which was found among his papers at his death, reads: "Here lies buried, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

The time was approaching for its employment, as the old statesman lingered with some of the physical infirmities, few of the mental inconveniences of advanced life. His fondness for riding blood horses was kept up almost to the last, and he had always his family, his friends, his books—faithful to the end to the sublimities of Æschylus, the passion of his younger days. He was much more of a classical, even, than of a scientific scholar, we have heard it said by one well qualified to form an opinion; but this was a taste which he did not boast of, and which, happily for his enjoyment of it, his political enemies did not find out. In the decline of life, when debt, growing out of old encumbrances and new expenses on his estates, was pressing upon him, these resources were unfailing and exacted no repayments. His pen, too, ever ready to give wings to his thought, was with him. Even in those last days, preceding the national anniversary which marked his death, he wrote with his wonted strength and fervor: "All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind have not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God." This was the last echo of the fire which was wont to inspire senates, which had breathed in the early councils of liberty, which had kept pace with the progress of the nation to a third generation. A few days after, at noon of the day which had given the Republic birth, to the music of his own brave words, exactly fifty years after the event; in full consciousness of his ebbing moments, with tranquillity and equanimity, passed from earth the soul of Thomas Jefferson. His old comrade, John Adams, lingered at Braintree a few hours longer, thinking of his friend in his dying moments, as he uttered his last words: "Thomas Jefferson still survives." They were too late for fact, but they have been accepted for prophecy, and in this spirit they are inscribed as the motto to the latest memorial of him of whom they were spoken. Thus, on the fourth of July, 1826, passed away the two great apostles of American liberty; the voice which, louder, perhaps, than any other, had called for the Declaration of Independence, and the hand that penned it.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

This noble spirited hero, of vivid intellect and ardent susceptibilities, brought military experience and domestic virtue to the service of the Revolution; he influenced the cause of liberty by his example, and consecrated it by his early death.

Richard Montgomery was born of a good family at his father's seat, near the town of Raphoe, in the north of Ireland, December 2, 1736. We hear nothing of his early years, but that he received a liberal education, at Trinity College, Dublin, and at the age of eighteen, by his own choice and the wishes of his father, who gave also another son to the profession, entered the army. He was early introduced to America, in the vigorous campaigns devised by William Pitt, on his accession to power, for the subjugation of the French in their colonial possessions across the Atlantic. He was a participant with Wolfe in the brilliant conquest of Louisburg, in Amherst's expedition in 1758, and when that end was gained, served with his regiment in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain. He was then ordered to the West Indies, and had further opportunity of distinguishing himself in the arduous service against Martinique and the Havana, under Monckton and Albemarle.

The treaty of Versailles, in 1763, having closed the active service of the British troops in America, with the termination of the old French war, Montgomery, having been landed with his regiment at New York, was at liberty to seek permission to visit Europe. He accordingly returned to Great Britain, where we hear of his intimacy with the liberal members of Parliament, Fox, Burke and Barré, during the formative struggles of American Independence, implying that his mind was more or less in favor of the claims of the colonies. Something, too, is vaguely said of Government opposition to his promotion by purchase in the army. At any rate, in 1772, we find him selling his commission, and finally relinquishing the service, to settle in New York, where he arrived early in the following year.

There he was speedily married to the daughter of the eminent Robert R. Livingston, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Colony, and father of the future Chancellor of the same name. He now retired to rural life, on the banks of the Hudson, at Rhinebeck, where, in the enjoyment of the territorial consequence of his influential marriage alliance, he passed his time happily in domestic life, the culture of

his mind by study and the improvements of agriculture. A more agreeable round of occupations for a laurelled warrior at the early age of thirty-six, can hardly be imagined. The old Arcadian colonial simplicity, at these upper waters of the Hudson, so delightfully traced in the pictures of Mrs. Grant, and the subsequent sketches of the Marquis de Chastellux, were destined, however, to be ruthlessly disturbed. Montgomery early took part in the public life of the Revolution as a delegate to the Convention of the Province, held at New York in April, 1775. He was at once called to the field by Congress, on its first organization of the army, upon giving the command to Washington, creating him a brigadier-general. The neighborhood of Montgomery to General Schuyler, no doubt influenced the appointment; but the established military reputation and eminent service of the soldier of Amherst, needed no local or family recommendations.

It was resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada by a twofold expedition, penetrating the country by the routes of Lake Champlain and the Kennebec. The latter is known by the formidable difficulties it encountered in the wilderness, triumphantly surmounted by the spirit and energy of Arnold, who conducted his resolute force to the walls of Quebec. Montgomery's passage to the same spot was marked by prudence, activity, and military ability of a high order, overcoming many obstacles in the insubordination and even cowardice of his own forces. In consequence of the illness of Gen. Schuyler, the advance was early intrusted to his care. He entered upon it with promptness. In the capture of St. Johns and other operations in the vicinity, laying open Montreal to his arms, and in his government of the latter place his magnanimity was as evident as his courage. For these gallantly conducted operations, in the autumn of 1775, he was created, by Congress, major-general.

There now remained before him the advance upon Quebec. Arnold reached the neighborhood of that city a few days before Montgomery's entrance at Montreal, in the middle of November, made, with his small force, a rather vainglorious summons to surrender, and feeling the poverty of his resources, retired from the Heights to wait for reinforcements. In the meantime, Montgomery, with a calm glance at the prospects of the expedition, weighing all its difficulties, but undeterred by the gravest of them, was hurrying to his aid.

With inadequate means, and with a small force, numbering at the end of his severe journey but three hundred men, he finally, in the beginning of December, joined Arnold's body of five hundred before Quebec. The calculations he had made in advance were confirmed on the spot. But a slight show of investment could be made, and the batteries of gabions filled with snow and ice, from which a few guns were fired, could hardly be expected to resist solid cannon balls. The small American force, exposed to the severities of the bitter Canadian midwinter, were thinned by the smallpox. There

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